

INCOMING TELEGRAM

Department of State

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Action

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Info

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: CAHTO 48, MAY 30, 7 PM (SECTION ONE OF FOUR)

REFERENCE: CAHTO 43.

FOLLOWING IS CLEARED MEMORANDUM CONVERSATION OF FOUR FOREIGN MINISTERS ABOARD SECRETARY'S AIRPLANE MAY 28: (UNNECESSARY WORDS OMITTED. FULL TEXT BEING POUCHED.)

SECRETARY STATED WE WOULD BE VERY INTERESTED HEAR BASIS FOR SOVIET DISSATISFACTION WITH SITUATION IN BERLIN. WE UNDERSTAND SOVIET UNION WANTS CHANGE IN SITUATION. WESTERN REPRESENTATIVES WOULD LIKE GROMYKO TO DISCUSS BERLIN AND DESIRE FRANK AND OPEN DISCUSSION OF PROBLEM. WE ARE WILLING TO LIVE WITH PRESENT SITUATION AND DESIRE TO KNOW WHAT SOVIETS WANTS.

GROMYKO STATED HE HAD TRIED EXPLAIN THIS SEVERAL TIMES AND KHRUSHCHEV HAD MADE NUMBER OF STATEMENTS ON SAME SUBJECT. GROMYKO WOULD, HOWEVER, BE GLAD REPEAT SUBSTANCE THESE STATEMENTS. SAID HE PLANNED SPEAK AT MAY 30 PLENARY ON THIS SUBJECT.

GROMYKO STATED PRESENT SITUATION IFSBELIN IS UNNATURAL. BERLIN IS ISLAND SURROUNDED BY TERRITORY OF GDR WHICH HAS ENTIRELY DIFFERENT REGIME FROM THAT EXISTING IN BERLIN. MOREOVER, AROUND WEST BERLIN AND BERLIN ARE SOVIET TROOPS AND GDR FORCES, BOTH SOVIET UNION AND GDR BEING MEMBERS OF WARSAW PACT. ISLAND OCCUPIED BY FOREIGN TROOPS LOCATED IN CENTER OF GDR CREATED UNNATURAL SITUATION. IT WAS UNNATURAL FROM GEOGRAPHICAL POINT OF VIEW. MOREOVER, OCCUPATION REGIME IN BERLIN CANNOT RPT CANNOT BE JUSTIFIED UNDER PRESENT CONDITIONS. SOVIET GOVT RECOGNIZES THAT WESTERN POWERS DO HAVE RIGHTS UNDER AGREEMENTS TO WHICH SOVIET UNION WAS PARTY. BUT FOURTEEN YEARS HAVE ELAPSED AND CONDITIONS HAVE CHANGED RADICALLY, INCLUDING, AMONG OTHER THINGS, CREATION

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-2- CAHTO 48, MAY 30, 7 PM (SECTION ONE OF FOUR) FROM GENEVA

OF TWO NEW SOVEREIGN STATES, GDR AND FEDREP. OCCUPATION HAS
OULIVED ITSELF. THAT IS THE SECOND CONSIDERATION, ASIDE FROM
GEOGRAPHICAL CONSIDERATIONS. THIRD, GROMYKO STATED, PRESENT
SITUATION IN BERLIN IS DANGEROUS. THERE MAY BE UNEXPECTED
INCIDENTS, UNWANTED BY EITHER SIDE OR GERMANS. SOVIET UNION
DOES NOT RPT NOT WANT SUCH INCIDENTS WHICH WOULD ARISE FROM
PRESENCE OF WESTERN TROOPS IN OCCUPATION STATUS IN BERLIN.
GROMYKO COMMENTED, YOU WILL SAY, OF COURSE, NOTHING HAS HAPPENED
FOR FOURTEEN YEARS. BUT ALL OF US BEAR GREAT RESPONSIBILITY
AND IT NOT RPT NOT WISE TO CONTINUE MAINTAIN DELICATE SITUATION.
FOURTH POINT, WHICH GROMYKO STATED WAS NOT RPT NOT MOST IMPORTANT
ONE, WAS FACT WEST BERLIN CENTER FOR SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES,
MILITARY INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES ON BEHALF OF FORCES OF WESTERN
POWERS, ALSO ESPIONAGE, PROPAGANDA, RADIO STATIONS. HE
BELIEVED WEST GERMANS SOMEWHAT INVOLVED. YOU KNOW BETTER THAN
I DO, SAID GROMYKO, WHAT THESE ACTIVITIES ARE. REFERRED
TO UNDERGROUND TUNNEL WHICH HAD TAPPED LAND LINES OF SOVIET
FORCES BUT EMPHASIZED THIS WAS ONLY PAST ILLUSTRATION.
ONE CANNOT RPT NOT CONSIDER THIS SITUATION NORMAL. GROMYKO
EMPHASIZED THIS LAST POINT WAS NOT RPT NOT MOST IMPORTANT OF
CONSIDERATIONS REGARDING BERLIN. IF WEST SAYS IT CAN CORRECT
THESE THINGS, SOVIET UNION WOULD ANSWER THEY ARE NOT RPT NOT
ESSENCE OF BERLIN PROBLEM.

GROMYKO CONTINUED THAT IF WE UNDERSTAND OUR RESPONSIBILITIES AND
ACT RESPONSIBLY, WE WILL NOT RPT NOT CONTINUE OCCUPATION HAVING
ALL THESE DANGERS. GROMYKO NOTED THAT WESTERN POWERS WOULD
ASK WHETHER WEST BERLIN UNDER SOVIET PROPOSALS WOULD FALL TO
SOVIET UNION OR TO GDR. SOVIETS DO NOT RPT NOT NEED WEST
BERLIN. AS TO WHETHER GDR WILL CHANGE REGIME IN WEST BERLIN,
GROMYKO SAID EMPHATICALLY NO RPT NO. HE STATED GDR DOES NOT
RPT NOT WANT WEST BERLIN ANY MORE THAN DOES SOVIET UNION.
SOVIET UNION, HE STATED, WANTS TO NEGOTIATE WITH YOU AND
IS PREPARED GIVE GUARANTEES FOR CONTINUED STATUS OF
WEST BERLIN. IT IS PREPARED PERMIT WEST BERLIN KEEP SAME
SOVIET ORDER. RE COMMUNICATIONS BETWEEN WEST BERLIN AND WEST
GERMANY -- ONE OF MOST CRUCIAL PROBLEMS -- SOVIET UNION
PREPARED GIVE GUARANTEES. IT WILL EVEN CALL IN UN RPT UN.

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-3- CAHTO 48, MAY 30, 7 PM (SECTION ONE OF FOUR) FROM GENEVA

ON THIS POINT SOVIETS ARE OPEN-MINDED. IT COULD BE COMBINATION OF UN AND FOUR POWERS. SOVIET UNION HAS EXCHANGED VIEWS WITH GDR AND SOVIET UNION FULLY UNDERSTANDS ITS RESPONSIBILITIES. GDR IS PREPARED TO TAKE PART IN GUARANTEES PROPOSED BY SOVIET UNION AND WILL CARRY OUT AGREEMENT. WHEN THEY SIGN THEY WILL CARRY OUT AGREEMENT AND SOVIET UNION AND OTHERS WILL ALSO KEEP THEIR WORD. SOVIET UNION DOES NOT RPT NOT WANT TO PROVOKE TENSIONS AND IS EXTREMELY SERIOUS ON THIS. RE COMMUNICATIONS GROMYKO SAID GUARANTEES SHOULD NOT RPT NOT BE IN FORM INCONSISTENT WITH SOVEREIGNTY OF GDR.

GROMYKO STATED THAT IF YOU AND YOUR GOVERNMENTS THINK WE ARE NOT RPT NOT SINCERE IN OUR PROPOSALS RESPECTING WEST BERLIN, YOU WILL BE MAKING GREAT MISTAKE. WE MEAN WHAT WE SAY. IF YOU BELIEVE US, WE SHALL BE ABLE WORK OUT SOLUTION, NOT RPT NOT ONLY OF THIS PROBLEM BUT OF OTHER PROBLEMS AS WELL. BERLIN IS FIRST PROBLEM CALLING FOR RADICAL SOLUTION WHICH WOULD REALLY BE IN INTEREST OF LESSENING TENSIONS. THIS CAN BE DONE WITHOUT SACRIFICE OF PRINCIPLES OR INTERESTS OF WESTERN POWERS IN WEST BERLIN.

GROMYKO STATED FIRST AND MOST RADICAL SOLUTION OF BERLIN PROBLEM WAS TO HAVE ALL TROOPS WITHDRAWN IN INTERESTS OF LESSENING TENSION. IF, HOWEVER, WESTERN POWERS NOT RPT NOT PREPARED AGREE TO THIS, SOVIET UNION WOULD CONSENT TO HAVING SMALL SYMBOLIC UNITS REMAIN THERE. HE NOTED BOTH WEST AND SOVIET UNION KNEW THAT TROOPS IN BERLIN WERE ONLY SYMBOLIC ANYWAY. BY LEAVING SYMBOLIC UNITS THERE, THERE WOULD BE NO RPT NO AFFRONT TO PRESTIGE OF WESTERN POWERS AND GERMANS WOULD BE SATISFIED. SOVIET UNION IS PREPARED DISCUSS WHAT NUMBER WOULD CONSTITUTE SYMBOLIC UNIT. SOVIETS ARE OPEN-MINDED ABOUT THIS. HE THEN REFERRED TO POSSIBILITY OF MIXED UNITS IN WEST BERLIN AND APPARENTLY SUGGESTED SOVIET PARTICIPATION IN SYMBOLIC UNITS IN WEST BERLIN. HE REPEATED SOVIET UNION WOULD PREFER HAVE ALL TROOPS OUT OF WEST BERLIN BUT WOULD CONSIDER SECOND ALTERNATIVE HE HAD MENTIONED. A THIRD ALTERNATIVE WAS TO HAVE OTHER "NEUTRAL" TROOPS IN WEST BERLIN, "NEUTRALITY" NOT RPT NOT NECESSARILY BEING DETERMINED ON IDEOLOGICAL GROUNDS. THEY COULD BE ANY NON-PARTICIPANTS IN NATO.

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Control: 20186
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FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: CAHTO 48, MAY 30, 7 PM (SECTION TWO OF FOUR)

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GROMYKO REPEATED HE DID NOT RPT NOT MENTION NUMBER OF TROOPS
ALTHOUGH HE FELT THE LESS THE BETTER.

GROMYKO SAID THERE IS POSSIBILITY OF SOLUTION TO THIS
PROBLEM BECAUSE WESTERN POWERS HAVE SO MANY CHOICES. IT
SHOULD BE POSSIBLE FOR US TO FIND SOLUTION IF WE REALLY WISH
DO SO. SOVIET UNION HAS GIVEN RELATIVELY FLEXIBLE
PROPOSALS AND WESTERN POWERS SHOULD NOT RPT NOT BE RIGID. IT
WOULD BE WRONG TO TAKE THAT ATTITUDE. SOVIET UNION DESIRES WORK
OUT SOLUTION AT THIS TIME AND WILL GO AS FAR AS POSSIBLE IN
ATTEMPTING DO SO ALTHOUGH ITS VERY PROPOSALS HAD TAKEN INTO
ACCOUNT POSSIBLE VARYING ATTITUDES ON PART WESTERN POWERS.
GROMYKO COMMENTED THAT KHRUSHCHEV HAD DONE SAME IN TALKING TO
MACMILLAN. HE WANTED TO MAKE SOLUTION EASIER.

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COUVE ASKED WHAT WOULD COME NEXT IF WE REACH ARRANGEMENT AT
GENEVA. WILL YOU MAKE PEACE TREATY WITH GDR EVEN THOUGH WE
REACH AGREEMENT ON WEST BERLIN? YOU HAVE REPEATEDLY SAID IF
WE DO NOT RPT NOT AGREE TO GERMAN PEACE TREATY YOU WOULD ENTER
INTO SEPARATE PEACE TREATY WITH GDR. GROMYKO REPLIED IF WE
REACH AGREEMENT ON WEST BERLIN WE DO NOT RPT NOT HAVE TO FACE
SITUATION WHERE SOVIET UNION IS NOT RPT NOT PERFORMING ITS
OBLIGATIONS. IN THAT EVENT THERE WILL BE NO RPT NO
COMPLICATIONS. MOREOVER, GDR WILL BE SIGNATORY OF AGREEMENT
AND WILL MAKE NO RPT NO TROUBLE. SECRETARY INQUIRED WHETHER,
IF FOUR POWERS REACH AGREEMENT, GDR WILL SEPARATELY GIVE
DECLARATION.

GROMYKO ANSWERED GDR WILL SIGN AGREEMENT OR MAY MAKE SEPARATE
DECLARATION. COUVE ASKED WHETHER GDR AND SOVIET UNION
WOULD MAKE AGREEMENT NOTING THAT SOVIET UNION ALREADY HAS
AGREEMENT WITH GDR (REFERRING TO BOLZ-ZORIN LETTERS).

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GROMYKO NOTED THAT IN 1949 AGREEMENT SOVIET UNION HAD UNDERTAKEN CERTAIN OBLIGATIONS AND THAT IN ITS AGREEMENT WITH EAST GERMANY IT RESERVED THESE OBLIGATIONS. NOW RPT NOW SOVIET UNION IS PROPOSING MAKE NEW AGREEMENT ABOUT THESE OBLIGATIONS. COUVE ASKED WHETHER SOVIET UNION WOULD MAKE AGREEMENT WITH GDR AND GROMYKO ANSWERED VAGUELY THEY WOULD MAKE SOME AGREEMENT. COUVE ASKED WHY SOVIET UNION DESIRED GIVE UP ITS OBLIGATIONS. GROMYKO ANSWERED THAT SITUATION WAS OUTMODED. THEY WERE UNABLE EXPLAIN THIS TO GDR AND MOREOVER THERE WERE SOVIET TROOPS IN THE VICINITY.

SECRETARY NOTED SOME OF THINGS WHICH GROMYKO HAD SAID WERE VERY IMPORTANT AND WE WOULD LIKE TO HAVE THEM IN WRITING SO THERE CAN BE NO RPT NO MISUNDERSTANDING. WE DESIRE STUDY THESE STATEMENTS VERY THOROUGHLY.

LLOYD INTERJECTED THAT THE BASIC DIFFICULTY WAS WITH GROMYKO'S SECOND REASON. FIRST ONE, GEOGRAPHICAL, WAS TIRESOME AND COULD NOT RPT NOT BE HELPED AND OTHERS WERE MORE IMPORTANT. THIRD, RELATING TO INCIDENTS, WAS NOT RPT NOT VERY IMPORTANT IN THAT FOUR POWERS REALLY IN CONTROL AND CAN MINIMIZE INCIDENTS BETWEEN EAST AND WEST BERLIN. RE GROMYKO'S FOURTH POINT, SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES, THAT COULD BE DISCUSSED. REAL DIFFICULTY WAS RE GROMYKO'S SECOND POINT, THAT NOW RPT NOW IS TIME TO END OCCUPATION OF WEST BERLIN. IT IS POSITION OF WESTERN POWERS THIS CAN END ONLY WHEN WE REUNITE GERMANY. FAILURE TO AGREE ON REUNIFICATION MEANS CONTINUANCE OF INTERIM PERIOD. WE CANNOT RPT CANNOT SACRIFICE OUR RIGHTS IN BERLIN UNLESS THERE IS SOME AGREEMENT ON REUNIFICATION.

LLOYD SAID IT WAS HARD TO STOMACH GROMYKO'S STATEMENT THAT TIME HAS COME TO END OCCUPATION WITHOUT ANY AGREEMENT ON REUNIFICATION. THERE IS NO RPT NO REAL DIFFERENCE OF VIEWS ON WHETHER WEST BERLIN SHOULD CONTINUE MAINTAIN ITS EXISTING SOCIAL SYSTEM, ON ACCESS, ETC. BUT WHO GO INTO DOCTRINE OF ENDING OCCUPATION STATUS. COUVE NOTED THAT JURIDICAL BASIS OF OCCUPATION HARMED NO RPT NO ONE AND DID NOT RPT NOT CHANGE ANYTHING. GROMYKO SAID WESTERN POWERS WERE ASKING FOR SOMETHING FRO NOTHING. LLOYD SAID WESTERN POWERS WOULD BE GLAD TO EXAMINE CAUSES OF TENSION IN BERLIN AND ON ACCESS AND WANT TO SATISFY SOVIET UNION

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3- CAHTO 48, MAY 30, 7 PM (SECTION TWO OF FOUR) FROM GENEVA

ON THESE POINTS. GROMYKO INQUIRED WHETHER OR NOT RPT NOT WESTERN POWERS WERE INTERESTED IN CONTINUING SOCIAL ORDER IN BERLIN. WHY, OTHERWISE, ARE TROOPS OF WESTERN POWERS SITUATION THERE. LLOYD AND COUVE INTERJECTED THAT SUCH TROOPS WERE SYMBOLIC. GROMYKO ANSWERED IN THAT EVENT THEY WERE THERE TO MAINTAIN SOCIAL ORDER.

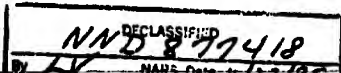
LLOYD SAID IF SOVIETS DESIRED CHANGE BERLIN SITUATION WHICH HAD ARISEN AS RESULT OF EVENTS OF 1945, WHY WERE THEY NOT RPT NOT PREPARED GO BACK AND GIVE UP TO WESTERN POWERS TERRITORIES SOVIET UNION HAD ACQUIRED AS RESULT OF SAME CIRCUMSTANCES. PART OF AGREEMENT THROUGH WHICH SOVIET UNION ACQUIRED THESE TERRITORIES WAS STATUS OF WESTERN BERLIN. HE FELT SOVIET UNION WAS BEING ONE-SIDED.

SECRETARY NOTED GROMYKO HAD MADE IMPORTANT STATEMENT REGARDING OUR RIGHTS. WE SAY LEAVE THEM UNIMPAIRED. WE DESIRE STABILIZE SITUATION WITHIN FRAMEWORK OF OUR RIGHTS. COUVE RAISED QUESTION AS TO EXISTING STATUS OF WEST BERLIN. IT NOW RPT NOW IS A GOVERNMENT AND SENDS PEOPLE TO BUNDESTAG WHO ACT AS OBSERVERS AND HAVE NO RPT NO VOTE. GROMYKO ANSWERED THAT SAME SYSTEM WOULD APPLY UNDER PLAN OFFERED BY SOVIET UNION. COUVE NOTED SOCIALISTS WERE IN CHARGE OF WEST BERLIN. SECRETARY COMMENTED THAT EAST BERLIN WOULD ALSO VOTE FOR MR. BRANDT IF IT HAD CHANGE, BUT GROMYKO'S ONLY REPLY WAS THAT EAST BERLIN IS EAST BERLIN.

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Control: 20189
Rec'd: MAY 30, 1959
7:36 PMSS
Info

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: CAHTO 48, MAY 30, 7 PM (SECTION THREE OF FOUR)

COUVE INQUIRED AS TO RELATIONSHIP OF EAST BERLIN AND GDR. GROMYKO ANSWERED THAT EAST BERLIN IS CAPITAL OF GDR, WHEREUPON COUVE ASKED WHETHER EAST BERLIN IS PART OF GDR. GROMYKO REPLIED THAT IT IS CAPITAL. LLOYD NOTED THAT UNDER SAME LINE OF REASONING, WEST BERLIN IS PART OF WEST GERMANY AND GROMYKO'S ONLY REPLY WAS "UGH".

SECRETARY NOTED THAT ALL BERLIN HAD SAME STATUS. ONLY IF EAST BERLIN IS NOT RPT NOT PART OF EAST GERMANY IS WEST BERLIN NOT RPT NOT PART OF WEST GERMANY.

SECRETARY RETURNED TO POINT THAT GROMYKO ADMITS WE HAVE RIGHTS AND SHOULD BE ABLE MAKE ADJUSTMENT WITHIN THESE RIGHTS.

GROMYKO NOTED THERE ARE SO MANY PROBLEMS BETWEEN US THAT WE SHOULD NOT RPT NOT NEGLECT OPPORTUNITY TO SOLVE THIS ONE. COUVE NOTED WE ALREADY AGREED DISCUSS IT. GROMYKO'S ANSWER TO COUVE AS TO WHETHER GROMYKO HAD DRAFT OF HIS BERLIN STATEMENT GROMYKO REPLIED THAT IF UNDERSTANDING IS REACHED, IT WILL BE EASY WORK OUT DETAILS.

LLOYD NOTED GROMYKO HAD GIVEN US SOVIET PROPOSAL RESPECTING BERLIN AND INQUIRED WHAT WAS GROMYKO'S SECOND POSITION. GROMYKO REPLIED WESTERN POWERS ARE THE RIGID ONES. SOVIET UNION HAS DEMONSTRATED FLEXIBILITY AND GIVEN ALTERNATIVES IN ADVANCE IT DID ITS VERY BEST TO UNDERSTAND WESTERN POSITION AND GAVE ALTERNATIVES TO WESTERN POWERS IN ORDER MAKE IT EASIER FOR THEM AGREE TO SOLUTION. IT IS NOT RPT NOT ENOUGH TO SAY THAT PROPOSAL OF SOVIET UNION NO RPT NO GOOD. SOVIET UNION TRIED TO MAKE POSITION OF WESTERN POWERS EASIER AND TOLD THEM THEM EXACTLY WHY. GROMYKO IMPLIED SOVIET PROPOSALS THEIR LAST WORD, SUBJECT WILLINGNESS NEGOTIATE ON POINTS HE HAD MENTIONED.

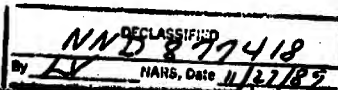
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COUVE COMMENTED GROMYKO HAD EMPHASIZED NUMBER OF INCIDENTS MIGHT ARISE FROM EXISTING SITUATION IN BERLIN ALTHOUGH THIS HAD NOT RPT NOT EVENTUATED IN FOURTEEN YEARS. COUVE FELT ABSENCE WESTERN TROOPS MIGHT WELL INCREASE LIKELIHOOD INCIDENTS BECAUSE OF DIRECT CONFRONTATION EAST AND WEST GERMANS. GROMYKO INSISTED WESTERN POWERS MUST TAKE RESPONSIBILITY. SOVIET UNION AND EAST GERMANS WILL TAKE SAME POSITION THIS QUESTION.

LLOYD THEN COMMENTED GROMYKO SAID TIME HAD COME CALL OFF AGREEMENTS BECAUSE OUTMODDED. WHAT ASSURANCE DID WESTERN POWERS HAVE THAT, IN FIVE OR TEN YEARS, SOVIET UNION WOULD NOT RPT NOT SAY THAT GUARANTEES OUTMODDED. WE, SAID LLOYD, BELIEVE AGREEMENTS SHOULD BE KEPT BUT SOVIET UNION DENOUNCES THEM UNILATERALLY. HOW DO WE KNOW YOU WON'T DENOUNCE THESE NEW AGREEMENTS. GROMYKO REPLIED IF HE WERE TALKING ABOUT UNILATERAL ACTION, HE WOULD NOT RPT NOT BE DISCUSSING THESE MATTERS IN PLANE.

LLOYD NOTED WESTERN POWERS WILL DO ANYTHING REASONABLE TO RELIEVE TENSIONS, THEY WERE PREPARED GO FAR, BUT GROMYKO REPLIED THIS OF SECONDARY IMPORTANCE. LLOYD INSISTED KHRUSHCHEV PUT RELAXATION OF TENSIONS AS OF FIRST IMPORTANCE IN MOSCOW TALKS. GROMYKO INSISTED IT ONLY SECONDARY -- REAL QUESTION IS EXISTENCE OF OCCUPATION REGIME IN CENTER GDR.

SECRETARY NOTED GROMYKO MUST KNOW, FROM REPORTS HIS EMBASSY WASHINGTON, THAT THERE WAS STRONG U.S. PUBLIC OPINION ON POINTS AT ISSUE. AMERICAN PEOPLE NOT RPT NOT PREPARED GIVE UP THEIR RIGHTS UNLESS SOMETHING GAINED IN REPLACEMENT. THEY ARE UNANIMOUS ON THAT - ALL PARTIES AND ALL POINTS OF VIEW IN UNITED STATES AND FRANCE. COUVE CONCURRED THIS STATEMENT. SECRETARY CONTINUED THAT ACCORDINGLY WE SHOULD SEEK WORK OUT SOLUTION IN FRAMEWORK EXISTING RIGHTS. COUVE NOTED EXISTING SITUATION DOES NOT RPT NOT HARM ANYONE AS FAR AS JURIDICAL SITUATION CONCERNED.

GROMYKO

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-3- CAHTO 48, MAY 30, 7 PM (SECTION 3 OF 4) FROM GENEVA

GROMYKO REPLIED HE COULD NOT RPT NOT DISTINGUISH JURIDICAL SITUATION FROM FACTS. YOU HAVE TROOPS IN BERLIN. MCELROY NOTED SOVIET UNION HAD MANY TROOPS IN EAST GERMANY. IN ANSWER COUVE'S QUESTION OF WHAT MEANT BY "SYMBOLIC" TROOPS IN WEST BERLIN, GROMYKO SAID THEY WERE PREPARED DISCUSS THIS POINT, MCELROY THEN SOUGHT CLARIFY POINT WHETHER OR NOT RPT NOT SOVIET TROOPS WOULD BE INCLUDED THOSE LOCATED WEST BERLIN ASSUMING WE WERE ABLE REACH AGREEMENT ON SYMBOLIC NUMBER. GROMYKO SAID THIS WOULD BE CAUSE ONLY IN WEST BERLIN; EAST BERLIN IS GDR. SECRETARY THEN ASKED ABOUT OUR RIGHTS WITH RESPECT GREATER BERLIN AND REFERRED TO AGREEMENTS AMDE THIS REGARD. GROMYKO ASKED HOW LONG SUCH AGREEMENTS WERE TO CONTINUE IN FORCE. THERE HAD ALSO BEEN POTSDAM AGREEMENT. HE INSISTED TIME HAD SOMEHOW CHANGED SITUATION AND EAST BERLIN WAS OUT OF PICTURE. COUVE COMMENTED SOVIET UNION COULD NOT RPT NOT, IN THAT EVENT, CHALLENGE RIGHT OF WESTERN POWERS TO GIVE WEST BERLIN TO GDR BECAUSE THAT COULD BE DONE ON SAME BASIS AS THAT ON WHICH SOVIET UNION PURPORTED GIVE EAST BERLIN TO GDR. GROMYKO'S ONLY ANSWER WAS TO INSIST EAST BERLIN WAS OUT OF QUESTION.

COUVE INQUIRED AS TO BASIS ON WHICH GROMYKO PROPOSED STATION SOVIET TROOPS WEST BERLIN AND GROMYKO REPLIED HE WANTED SOME NEW BASIS THERE.

LLOYD SAID GROMYKO AND KHRUSHCHEV HAD MENTIONED RIGHTS OF WESTERN POWERS IN WEST BERLIN. WHAT EXACTLY DID THEY MEAN? GROMYKO REPLIED SITUATION HAD CHANGED. LLOYD STATED RIGHTS OF WESTERN POWERS STEMMED FROM DEFEAT AND OCCUPATION GERMANY BUT GROMYKO INSISTED SUCH RIGHTS WERE DERIVED FROM AGREEMENTS. NOW SITUATION HAS CHANGED. THERE ARE NO LONGER OCCUPATION ZONES. THERE ARE TWO SOVEREIGN GERMAN STATES. GROMYKO WENT ON TO STATE THAT IF WESTERN POWERS ARE INTERESTED KEEPING SOCIAL ORDER IN WEST BERLIN, THAT WILL BE GUARANTEED. IF THEY ARE INTERESTED IN ACCESS, THAT WILL BE GUARANTEED. AFTER ALL, WHY ARE THE WESTERN TROOPS IN BERLIN. THEY HAVE

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-4- CAHTO 48, MAY 30, 7 PM (SECTION 3 OF 4) FROM GENEVA

NO RPT NO MILITARY IMPORTANCE. COUVE AND LLOYD NOTED THEY WERE SYMBOLIC. GROMYKO SAID SOVIET UNION WAS, ALTHOUGH RELUCTANTLY, PREPARED ACCEPT TROOPS. LLOYD INSISTED THAT IN 1964 SOVIET UNION MIGHT WELL AGAIN SAY SITUATION CHANGED AND THAT AGREEMENT OF GUARANTEE WAS OUTMODED.

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S E C R E T

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Action

SS
InfoControl: 20190
Rec'd: MAY 30, 1959
8:03 P.M.

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

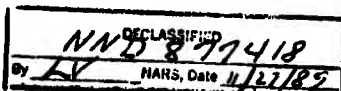
NO: CAHTO 48, MAY 30, 7 P.M. (SECTION FOUR OF FOUR)

SECRETARY INQUIRED WHY WESTERN POWERS COULD NOT RPT NOT ASK SOVIET UNION TO GIVE UP SOME OF ITS RIGHTS AND GIVE WESTERN POWERS MORE RIGHTS. GROMYKO DID NOT RPT NOT ANSWER DIRECTLY, BUT SAID IF WESTERN POWERS WISHED GUARANTEE OF TROOPS IN WEST BERLIN, EVEN THOUGH THERE NO RPT NO NEED FOR THEM, SOVIETS WOULD CONSIDER THIS, NOTWITHSTANDING FACT SITUATION WAS UNNATURAL.

SECRETARY INQUIRED OF MCELROY WHETHER BERLIN HAD ANY MILITARY ADVANTAGE. MCELROY REPLIED IT WAS ONLY SYMBOLIC. TROOPS IN BERLIN COULDN'T SUPPORT THEMSELVES IF SOVIET UNION TOOK ACTION BUT IF SOVIET UNION DID ACT, OUR TROOPS WOULD BE INVOLVED AND WE WOULD BE INVOLVED. HE STATED HE DID NOT RPT NOT KNOW HOW MANY TROOPS MAKE SYMBOL. HE DID NOTE, HOWEVER, IN RESPECT OF NUMBER, THAT SITUATION IN BERLIN WAS STABILIZED AND HE COULD NOT RPT NOT CONJECTURE AS TO EFFECT ANY REDUCTION IN THOSE FORCES. REDUCTION IN FORCES THERE MIGHT PROVOKE INCIDENTS. IN ANY EVENT, BERLIN HAD NO RPT NO PLACE IN WAR PLAN. REAL PROBLEM IS UNILATERAL FEATURE OF SOVIET PROPOSAL. REAL ANSWER TO HOW LONG SITUATION SHOULD CONTINUE IS HOW LONG IT WILL TAKE TO REACH ANOTHER AGREEMENT.

SECRETARY THEN COMMENTED IF THERE WERE AGREEMENT ON UNIFICATION, SITUATION MIGHT BE DIFFERENT. GROMYKO REPLIED SITUATION EXISTING AS RESULT OF ACCEPTANCE OF SOVIET PROPOSALS WOULD BE TEMPORARY AND ONLY LAST UNTIL REUNIFICATION GERMANY.

GROMYKO THEN TURNED TO SECRETARY AND ASKED IF HE HAD ANY IDEAS ABOUT EUROPEAN SECURITY. SECRETARY REPLIED WESTERN POWERS HAD OUTLINED PHASED MEASURES DESIGNED TO MAINTAIN EUROPEAN SECURITY IN CONNECTION WITH THEIR PEACE PLAN INVOLVING REUNIFICATION

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-2- CAHTO 48, MAY 30, 7 P.M. (SECTION FOUR OF FOUR) FROM GENEVA

REUNIFICATION GERMANY. GROMYKO THEN SAID HE THOUGHT WESTERN POWERS MIGHT HAVE SOME MORE REALISTIC IDEAS, SEPARATE PROPOSALS WHICH COULD BE DISCUSSED. SECRETARY THEN REFERRED TO ALL-UN DISARMAMENT COMMITTEE AND NOTED HOW DIFFICULT IT WAS ACCOMPLISH ANYTHING WITH SO MANY NATIONS INVOLVED.

CONVERSATION THEN LAPSED INTO GENERALITIES ALTHOUGH SEVERAL TIMES LATER IN EVENING GROMYKO INQUIRED WHEN WESTERN POWERS WERE GOING TO RECOGNIZE EAST GERMANY AND IN RESPECT TO ONE SUCH QUESTION COUVE STATED "NOT RPT NOT NOW RPT NOW". COUVE ALSO NOTED LATER IN EVENING THAT WE WERE DESIROUS OF SETTLING BERLIN PROBLEM BUT THIS WOULD NOT RPT NOT BE EASY IF SOVIET UNION MAINTAINED ITS PRESENT POSITION. GROMYKO REPLIED THAT IT WOULD BE EASY IF WESTERN POWERS WERE REASONABLE.

HERTER

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SECRET

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By LV HARS, Date 4/27/85